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'Visual Planning and the Picturesque'

Sir Nikolaus Pevsner and townscape revisited

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Most identify Townscape today with urban planning's rear guard—conservative and nostalgic. In Post-War histories, it is often treated as a fleeting whim of little seriousness. The following paper proposes that Townscape's contributions to the discourses and practices of the second half of the 20th century are far more considerable than has been held to date. Townscape was originally of great interest and influence because of its conceptual innovations, today it has historical interest, standing at the junction of the greater trajectories within Architecture and Urban Planning; the transition from Modernism to Post-Modernism, and the rise of 'Urbanism'. In revisiting Townscape it is hoped that not only can a fairer picture of the movement emerge, but that the role of one of the movement's founders and strongest supporters, Sir Nikolaus Pevsner (1902-1983), be duly appreciated and celebrated. Pevsner had been consistently occupied with an early relative of Townscape throughout the 1940s, which he referred to as 'Visual Planning', and more widely known in association with the Picturesque revival carried out largely under Pevsner's name in the British journal the *Architectural Review*. Throughout the 1940s Pevsner published over 20 articles on the subject and worked on an unpublished manuscript titled "Visual Planning". An analysis of this manuscript along with other articles derived from the manuscript, reveals not only a considerable amount of work on a subject which has largely been neglected in scholarship surrounding Pevsner, but new insights into the Townscape movement itself; its sources, originality, theory, objectives, and its legacy in today's theory and practice.

The following paper is a discussion of Sir Nikolaus Pevsner's role in the development of the Townscape movement. I begin with a brief review of the Townscape movement ending with an outline of its historical significance in the second half of the 20th century. The bulk of the paper will be dedicated to an analysis of Pevsner's role within the movement through a discussion of an unpublished manuscript and several related articles from the 1940s which arguably contributed much to Townscape's future agenda. Scholarship on Townscape today is made difficult by the fact that its inheritance still persists as urban planning's conservative rear guard. As such, post-war histories have generally treated Townscape as a fleeting whim of little seriousness. Some exceptions to this schema are: Erdem Erten's doctoral thesis of 2004 and its analysis of the *Architectural Review*'s editorial policy;¹ a forthcoming book from Dr John Macarthur on the Picturesque;² a conference paper from myself titled 'Townscape in Context' from 2004,³ and another in conjunction with Dr John Macarthur presented at this conference last year, titled "Ivor de Wolfe's Picturesque, or, who and what was Townscape".⁴ In many respects, the current paper is intended as a continuation of these earlier studies; the examination of Pevsner's role in the formation of Townscape throughout

the 1940s helps us to not only learn much that we never knew about Pevsner, but much that has been forgotten about Townscape since.

Townscape

Although the first article using the title 'Townscape' appeared in the British journal the *Architectural Review* in 1949,⁵ its ideas were already familiar to its readership through the earlier articles promoting 'Visual Planning', 'Sharawaggi', 'Exterior Furnishing', and the AR's 'Picturesque Revival' of the late 1930s and early 1940s. These interests eventually coalesced to form the later and more familiar version of 'Townscape', which reached its high point in the 1950s and 60s. By the 1970s Townscape-related articles began to appear less frequently in the AR, and by the early 1980s, publication had ceased altogether. Only a few books were published, the most famous being Gordon Cullen's *Townscape* of 1961 and its abridgement *The Concise Townscape* of 1971, which is still in print.⁶ The popularity of these books has often tended to overshadow the fact that their success was founded on over 200 Townscape articles which had appeared in the AR in the same period, only a fraction of which are cited in the Avery index of

the RIBA Library Catalogue. During its 40 year span, the Townscape movement underwent some significant changes to its programme. Beginning in the 1970s and continuing to the present, 'Townscape' became synonymous with environmentalist and conservationist concerns. While Townscape certainly contributed to these later developments, I argue against a strict reading along environmentalist-conservationist lines, because they dominate and conceal an earlier, more interesting 'Townscape'. Originally Townscape was intended to be a popular and modern approach to the urban planning problems precipitated by the war and the immanent reconstruction programme in mid-1940s Britain. Along with its 'modernism', Townscape was to be mediated by a theoretical armature found in the 18th century 'Picturesque' and its application to the 'urban scene'. In the early 50s, this focus was expanded to include all the problems associated with the modernisation of the total built urban environment, and the 1960s saw Townscape's field of action extended yet further to include regional and rural areas. Throughout this period one can find a vast spectrum of Townscape articles ranging from the design and placement of electricity lines, to the use of lettering and advertising on buildings.⁷ Eventually Townscape became indistinguishable from landscape, town and city planning, and, the AR's numerous special editions of "The Functional Tradition", "Outrage", "Counter-Attack", "The Italian Townscape", "Civilia" and lastly "SLOAP", all fall within Townscape's rubric as thematically and temporally overlapping projects.⁸ Some other notable changes to Townscape's programme were the shift from active intervention in the 40s to the more conservationist modes typical of the 60s. Also, where Townscape in the 1940s is an exclusively 'English' affair, this restriction softened during the 50s to become first 'British' and then more 'internationalist' in the 1960s.

Townscape is inseparable from the AR, and as such, from the four-person editorial board which formed in the 1940s and disbanded in the early 70s. Of the four, it was Hubert de Cronin Hastings (also the owner of The Architectural Press, and therefore the AR) and Nikolaus Pevsner who would contribute most to the foundation of Townscape.⁹ But there are several problems involved in understanding the authorship of Townscape. Firstly, the focus on Cullen and his visual style has often been at the expense of a plethora of other contributors, and has also tended to favour a version of Townscape which had largely done away with the earlier historical and theoretical interests. Second, was the practice of using pseudonyms or no indication of authorship altogether, common at the AR. De Cronin Hastings used the pen name of "Ivor de Wolfe" for the 1949 "Townscape" article, and continued to do so for another 25 years.¹⁰ Pevsner had several pseudonyms. Using the most well-known, "Peter F.R. Donner", he published 33 articles.¹¹ But these articles constitute only a fraction of the overall production from the 40s to the late 70s. Besides Cullen, the most prolific contributors to Townscape were Ian Nairn and Kenneth Browne.¹² Alongside these sustained efforts, another 20

or so authors made regular contributions to Townscape in the AR.¹³

Having briefly reviewed Townscape, and a few of the problems associated with its scholarship, perhaps it is worth mentioning why we might be interested in Townscape today. Townscape was originally of great conceptual interest, introducing several major innovations in its formative period. Today it is of historical interest, standing at the junction of the greater trajectories within post-war Architecture and Urban Planning; the transition from Modernism to Post-Modernism, and the rise of 'Urban Design'. Some of the other major streams of interest to emerge from the Townscape movement are the post-war concept of context and its agenda for the integration of new and existing building and 'embrace' of the *Genius Loci* and Townscape's development of a preservationist perspective along with an all-encompassing attitude towards the modernisation of the built environment and the plurality of modern building 'objects'. Its use and development of Surrealism and the Picturesque led to a more scenographic and visual approach to architecture along with a mode of urban planning based on the moving spectator and serial vision. Finally, through its instrumentalisation of historical scholarship for a middle-brow target-audience using the mass medium of the AR as its vehicle, Townscape is, perhaps, the first Post-war movement to bring urban planning to the 'coffee table'.

Sir Nikolaus Pevsner and Townscape¹⁴

With the assistance of both published and unpublished documents, I now aim to show how much of Townscape's agenda relied on Pevsner's work, not only in the fields of history and theory, but also in its technique. Pevsner's role has often been neglected, and recent scholarship has tended to over-value the role played by de Cronin Hastings and his alter ego Ivor de Wolfe.¹⁵ I would like to begin with a long quote from Pevsner that gives us many important insights into the discussion which follows. "Some time after the beginning of the Second World War", Pevsner recalls:

The Architectural Review lost its principal editor J. M. Richards [...] to the Ministry of Information. He suggested me as his-temporary-successor and moved to Cairo. I did what I could, and this would have been entirely in matters of contemporary building, if it had not been for the co-owner of the Review H. de Cronin Hastings. He is a brilliant man who likes to stay in the background. He had read Christopher Hussey's *The Picturesque*, the great classic of the movement. [...] I also had of course read the book—even several years before I settled down in England, but purely as a piece of English art history. It was de Cronin Hastings who dropped a remark in his studiedly casual way indicating that surely Hussey's *Picturesque* and our day-to-day work for the Review were really the

same thing. This is what set me off. With de Cronin's blessing I started on a book whose subject was just this aside of the great pathfinder. In the end the book was never written, and instead only a few papers on the Georgian Picturesque came out [...] As my thought in these years developed. I realised that the missing link between the Picturesque and the twentieth-century architecture was the picturesque theory chiefly of Uvedale Price, but also of Payne Knight and Repton and even Reynolds.¹⁶

Pevsner's position at the *AR* is central in the story of Townscape. He joined as an editor in 1942 and during the war years it is reported that he had largely edited the magazine himself.¹⁷ From 1946, Pevsner occupied the position of 'Directing Editor', until his retirement in 1971. Pevsner's first article appeared in the *AR* in 1936 and the last in 1978. Exactly how many articles Pevsner published in these 42 years is unknown; under his own name and that of Peter F.R. Donner he published a total of 313 articles.¹⁸ In reflecting on his experiences at the *AR* in 1971, Pevsner stated:

To propel the *Architectural Review* into the role it plays now was the work of a two man team. H. de C. was the one, the other was J. M. Richards. The brilliant ideas creating what was called *Architectural Review* policy were mostly H. de C.'s [...], But the brilliant ideas had to be developed, had to be made viable ...¹⁹

In this modest admission, I believe we can see the beginnings of the influence that I propose Pevsner was to exert on the Townscape project; that of the 'developer' of Hastings' 'brilliant ideas'. Pevsner's influence on the formation of Townscape's early agenda can be divided into three major branches. Firstly, Pevsner's role in bringing modernist scholarship to Britain as evidenced in his *Pioneers of the Modern Movement: From William Morris to Walter Gropius* of 1936.²⁰ Pevsner was a firm advocate of modernist architecture, favouring the international style, and would remain a devotee for the rest of his career. Today, with Townscape's recent experiences in mind, many have forgotten exactly how 'modern' it was originally intended to be. Secondly, Pevsner's early interest in English Art and Architecture saw several articles published in Germany and later in Great Britain in the 1930s and 40s.²¹ Later, Pevsner would become an influential public figure on questions of British Art and Architecture through his enormous 102 BBC radio talks from 1945-77,²² along with his monumental work *The Buildings of England*. But most important from this interest in 'Englishness' was his role in the *AR*'s Picturesque Revival of the 1940s which he carried out almost single-handedly.²³

While these first two aspects of Pevsner's influence are easily noticed, the third is more difficult. It relates to the intellectual context Pevsner brought with him when he

emigrated from Germany in 1933. This is significant for two reasons; firstly, his approach towards architecture was tempered by the German school of Art History and its emphasis on the visual and physical aspects of Art and Architecture, commonly associated with August Schmarsow, Heinrich Wölfflin and *Einfühlungstheorie*. It was his teacher, Wilhelm Pinder, to whom Pevsner attributed his lifelong belief in the 'social' role of Art and his advocacy for a *Kunstgeographie*, or, "the history of Art in its relationship with the Nation".²⁴ Secondly, Pevsner must have known of other related movements from Europe, pre-eminent among these, Camillo Sitte and the *Städtebaukunst* discourses from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These are clearly important forerunners to Pevsner's 'Visual Planning' and in many respects similar to Townscape.

Having briefly dealt with the main lines of Pevsner's influence on Townscape, we can now turn to the manuscript of the 1940s which I have recently transcribed. Today, the manuscript along with Pevsner's papers, are held by the Getty Research Library.²⁵ It remains uncertain when research began, when the text was written, when the work on the book was ceased or why it was never published. I assume the book was commissioned by de Cronin Hastings as the owner of the Architectural Press—there is a dedication on the first page to 'H de C', along with Pevsner's own admission of Hastings' 'blessing'. The manuscript has no written title, although the Getty refers to it as the "Visual Planning (Manuscript)".²⁶ Pevsner himself refers to the book only three times: firstly in a book review of Pierre Lavedan's 'History of Urbanism' in 1947, where he remarks "The truth of the matter is it is high time for a book on visual planning in England."²⁷ The second occasion is in *The Englishness of English Art* from 1956 where he states "I am working on a book on Visual Planning and the Picturesque."²⁸ The third and last occasion came with the introductory quote above. An indication of the importance attributed to the manuscript comes from Robin Middleton in 1984, when, in his obituary for Pevsner, he concluded:

Pevsner's was not a philosophic approach. Which was why, perhaps, indefatigable worker though he was, he failed to complete that study of the Picturesque in English art for which he gathered notes for a number of years, considering it to be the key to all proper understanding of English architecture, which was, of course, his ultimate aim.²⁹

The manuscript³⁰

The manuscript was intended to have three parts, the third of which was never written. Of these:

The first is an analysis, chiefly pictorial, of English town planning tradition up to 1800, the second a florilegium of English planning theory, that is the theory of the Picturesque, and the third an account of how this theory and this tradition

influenced the nineteenth century in England and might influence the twentieth.

Pevsner begins the foreword by declaring "Town planning history as it can be read in the standard books does not do justice to the contribution of England." He sets out to show how scholars have neglected England, saying "The measure of success [...] appears always [...] the degree to which plans of towns or districts approximate the perfection of all-round symmetrical ornament." This, according to Pevsner, is typical of continental planning, whereas, English cities rarely displayed such qualities. For Pevsner, the cities of Oxford, Cambridge and Bath, and parts of London "are amongst the most impressive urban configurations to be seen anywhere in Europe." Furthermore:

If the accepted criteria of town planning history cannot explain the power of their effect, the fault must be with the criteria. New categories have to be evolved, not from French and German but from English examples, their validity established and their applicability to topical problems tested.

Pevsner admits that it is difficult to tell if "the appearance of Oxford and Cambridge is due more to accident or to planning". Furthermore, "their outstanding visual merits", are difficult to convey in a book, because English planning consists of "sequences of buildings—interior and exterior spaces which can reveal their aesthetic qualities only to the roving eye. The immovable eye of the camera cannot catch them." So while the axes of Paris might appear best in a photograph, "At Oxford or Cambridge you can do nothing of the sort. You have to walk through the quads and passages of college after college, looking forward and backward, left and right, up and down, as you progress ..." As a result, he proposes a "small selection of photographic shots [...] in conjunction with diagrammatic plans" as a poorer but necessary substitute. Pevsner begins with a tour of Oxford, before moving on to a similar tour of Lincoln's Inn in London. "This peculiar collegiate pattern" he tells us "with its variety and intricacy is not confined to Oxford. It can be studied in London as well [...] The Inns of Court convey to the perambulating visitor sensations very similar to those [...] at Oxford."

In his discussion of the re-planning of London after the great fire, Pevsner, like Reynolds earlier, rejoices the fact that Wren's plan was never realised, claiming "Wren's London would have been a monument to absolutism, alien in its pattern—besides being a monument to the rational, and systematic spirit of the age." After this aberration, Pevsner thinks Wren reconciled himself with the *Genius Loci* of London, evidenced in his rebuilding of the seven or so church steeples all in varying styles—he concludes:

I know of no other architect of the seventeenth century who would so readily have abandoned the unity of personal self-expression to a

diversity close to irregularity [...] Here for the first time, with the work of the greatest English architect of his century, can one say that variety as against uniformity appears as a principle and not as an accident.

The discussion then moves to England's contribution of the 17th century "planned square" typical of London's West End. While acknowledging the English did not 'invent' the square, he notices, "that the houses surrounding a square have no uniformity of appearance". It is the contrast with the relative 'formality' of the planned square, and their 'informal' surroundings which distinguishes English examples. Pevsner then sharpens his rhetoric suggesting the examples discussed still provide no conclusive theory because they could be mistaken for accidents of growth, or products of land ownership, or simply, an 'unconscious' informal aesthetic. To find conclusive proof of a 'conscious' approach, Pevsner tells us that we need to look to Bath. With the use of plans, aerial photography, and the now familiar walk-through, Pevsner leads the reader through a tour of Bath as conceived by the Woods in the first half of the 18th Century. "In Bath" Pevsner concludes "at last we get the full proof of informal planning as a principle. The effects of surprise, intricacy and seeming impropriety are here all developed with supreme astuteness and achieve a visual drama just as delightful as, but fundamentally different from, [e.g.] Nancy." Pevsner concludes the first section of the manuscript with a discussion of John Nash's planning of Regent Street in identical terms to that of Bath, ending his tour with Regent's Park.

Of course it is no surprise to anyone familiar with Pevsner's work to find the qualities of English town-planning are: informal, incongruous, and intricate; using visual drama, surprise, contrasts, and piquancy; along with the strong emphasis on the 'visual' and 'genius loci'. These 'principles', are those of the Picturesque, developed by Price, Knight, Repton and Reynolds 150 years earlier, now applied to urban planning. It is to the development of these theories that the second part of the manuscript is devoted—which we will not discuss—beginning with Francis Bacon in 1597, and ending with Knight in 1794. What surprises most in part one is the sharpness of the contrast of English and Continental examples. As mentioned earlier, Pevsner should have been aware of *Städtebaukunst* discourses and Camillo Sitte, whose book *Der Städtebau*, held enormous currency from its first publication in 1889.³¹ In his advocacy of a more 'informal' and 'visual' approach to planning problems, Sitte's work, ironically, is also a development of the Picturesque itself. Like Pevsner, Sitte analysed the cities he visited—mostly medieval examples—and tried to elevate their qualities to a status comparable to those seen in Baroque planning. In 1946 Pevsner published a book review in the *AR* of the first English language translation of *Der Städtebau*, he states: "... the only deeply regrettable thing is that [Sitte] evidently never had an opportunity to travel to England. What splendid examples he would have found in Oxford and Cambridge or at Bath."³² It would take seventeen years

before Pevsner would acknowledge that Sitte had not only attempted a similar effort, but that he had arrived at the same conclusions.³³

So far we have touched on two major aspects of Pevsner's contribution to Townscape. What is missing from the first two parts of the manuscript is the promotion of modern architecture for the purposes of the new 'visual planning'. These issues were to be dealt with in the third and unfinished part of the manuscript, to better understand them, we can turn to some of the 20 associated articles derived from the manuscript and published in the 1940s. By establishing a chronology of these related texts we can begin to chart Townscape's genesis and answer several questions raised earlier.

Articles taken from the manuscript³⁴

The most important publication from the early 40s came from Hastings, using the name 'The Editor', under the title 'Exterior Furnishing or Sharwaggi: The Art of Making Urban Landscape'.³⁵ In January 1944, it burst on to the pages of the *AR* and constitutes the first coherent call for what would later be known as 'Townscape'. Elsewhere, this article has been discussed at length, as it contains much of Townscape's agenda for the next 30 years.³⁶ It is also useful in situating the manuscript, both temporally and thematically. I suggest the manuscript was commenced in 1942, when Pevsner joined the *AR*, and after several discussions with Hastings could take place. One month after the "Exterior Furnishing" article, the first of Pevsner's historical accounts of the Picturesque was published in February 1944, titled "Price on Picturesque Planning".³⁷ This article, along with a further seven studies published in the *AR*, were taken from the second part of the manuscript, suggesting they were begun before 1944.

In June of 1945, a special edition of the *AR* appeared titled "A Programme for the City of London". Although little indication is given for its authorship, I believe it was almost entirely from Pevsner's hand. It contained three parts. Part One "The English Planning Tradition and the City" and Part Two "City Design—The London Way", are an almost perfect synthesis of the content and argument from the first section of the manuscript along with the polemic and advocacy of modern architecture from Hastings "Exterior Furnishing" article. Part Three is a planning scheme, which was later reworked for the *AR*'s, "Plan for the St. Paul's Area" of November 1946 under the pseudonym "Hugh Gordon-Peter". While Hugh Casson and Gordon Cullen are named in the body text, the third, we can now conclude, was most probably Peter F.R. Donner—a.k.a. Nikolaus Pevsner.³⁸

Going back to July 1945, one month after the June special on London, an anonymous article appeared in the *AR* titled "Frenchay Common or, Workaday Sharawaggi". It contained a pictorial tour of an English village and aimed to teach the reader an appreciation of "unconscious visual planning [...] not only on the merit of its individual

parts but also on those of composition."³⁹ Pevsner later admitted its authorship, significant because it constitutes the first of many such Townscape articles. In November 1945, Pevsner delivered a speech to the Architectural Association, titled "Visual Planning and the City London".⁴⁰ Pevsner's presentation again summarised the first section of the 'Visual Planning' manuscript, and ended with the polemic against the Royal Academy's plan for the rebuilding of London, referred to as "formal and symmetrical and Parisian".⁴¹ Along with this assault, he reiterated the argument for the use of modern architecture in the reconstruction effort.

Pevsner followed these initial outings with a lecture to the RIBA in November 1947 which contained exactly the same argument from two years earlier under the title "The Picturesque in Architecture". In 1949, Pevsner published parts of the manuscript *verbatim*, under the title "Reassessment 4: Three Oxford Colleges", which marks the end of his publications in the 1940s. We can conclude this chronology with two of Pevsner's better known publications "C20 Picturesque" published in the *AR* in 1954,⁴² and the "Picturesque England" chapter of *The Englishness of English Art*,⁴³ both of which are re-workings of radio presentations, and which repeat, with minor variations, the central theses outlined in several of these earlier works.

Read against this chronology, the manuscript appears to be a kind of reflexive background to the early townscape movement. Although begun in the early 40s, the markings in the manuscript from 1949 show Pevsner had still not given up on its completion, and as late as 1956, he admits "working" on it. Although we can reconstruct why the book was begun, why the book was never completed remains a mystery. Erdem Erten suggests that Pevsner didn't have the necessary skill to realise the project without a partner.⁴⁴ A more likely scenario is that the book became redundant with the success of Townscape in the 1950s, especially since the historical material and its central theses had already been published. Ultimately, the publication of Cullen's *Townscape* of 1961 must have made the chances of producing yet another book on the topic seem even slighter.

Pevsner's greatest contribution to Townscape was his historical and theoretical work. Additionally, Pevsner offered several minor inventions later taken up and developed by the movement—e.g. his re-introduction of the sequential photo narrative and its theory of serial vision; his identification of the 'collegiate' and 'precinctual' qualities of English planning; his elaboration of 'visual planning' as a methodology; and to a lesser extent, the type of urban tourism practiced in his analyses. However, the formulation of Townscape's early agenda was not the work of one person alone, but clearly the product of two very different minds. De Cronin Hastings with his intuitive and somewhat eccentric brilliance, and the rather more modest, patient and scholarly Pevsner whose task, it seems, was to "develop" Hastings' "brilliant ideas".

Having discussed at great length the little-known involvement of a well-known scholar in a movement which has fallen into some disrepute, perhaps, it is fitting to conclude with a brief sketch of Townscape's legacy in recent theory and practice. Townscape's programme heralded many of the Post-War movements in architecture and urban planning. The concept of 'context' in the Contextualism of Colin Rowe, along with the Neo-Sittesque aspects of the Neo-Rationalism of Aldo Rossi and Leon and Rob Krier all appear to emerge from Townscape. The synthetic and scenographic components of Post-Modern architecture and urban design, seen best in the work of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown along with Charles Moore, could equally claim their inheritance in Townscape. Today, in the work of Rem Koolhaas, we might also note the rise of a late 20th century version of the Picturesque, which appears to have been introduced for reasons very similar to Townscape's some 50 years earlier; as method for addressing the problems associated with modernisation and tradition in urban areas. "SCAPE©", according to one of Koolhaas's students in a recent research project, "neither city nor landscape, is the new post-urban condition: it will be the arena for a terminal confrontation between architecture and landscape. It can only be understood as an apotheosis of the PICTURESQUE©."⁴⁵ Whether SCAPE© was directly intended as newer version of Townscape—minus the Town part—is not mentioned, perhaps it is unimportant; it simply shows how little of Townscape's original premises have remained recognisable to us today. However, I suggest that when considering Koolhaas' immanent Neo-Modernist doctrine, Townscape arguably has a lot to offer, having (theoretically) covered much of the same ground.

NOTES

- 1 Erdem Erten, 'Shaping "The Second Half Century": The Architectural Review 1947-71', unpublished PhD dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2004.
- 2 John Macarthur, *The Picturesque: Architecture, Visual Culture and Digust*, forthcoming.
- 3 Mathew Aitchison, 'Townscape in Context: The Picturesque, Nikolaus Pevsner, "Visual Planning" and the Concept of Context in Post-War British Architecture and Urban Planning', paper presented at *Recovering Post-War Europe*, The University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 9 October 2004.
- 4 John Macarthur and Mathew Aitchison, 'Ivor de Wolfe's Picturesque, or, who and what was Townscape', in *Limits: Proceedings of the 21st Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand*, Melbourne: SAHANZ, 2004.
- 5 Ivor de Wolfe, 'Townscape: A plea for an English visual philosophy founded on the True Rock of Sir Uvedale Price', *The Architectural Review*, 106, 636 (1949): 354-362. See also, Gordon Cullen, 'Townscape Casebook', *The Architectural Review*, 106, 636 (1949): 363-374.
- 6 Gordon Cullen, *Townscape*, London: The Architectural Press, 1961; *The Concise Townscape*, London: The Architectural Press, 1971.
- 7 See, for example, The Editor, 'Wirescape', *The Architectural Review*, 110, 660 (1951): 376-382; Ivor de Wolfe, 'Lettering. Pillar-Box Propriety', *The Architectural Review*, 107, 639 (1950): 204.
- 8 These special editions are: The Editor, 'The Functional Tradition', *The Architectural Review*, 107, 637 (1950); Ian Nairn, 'Outrage', *The Architectural Review*, 117, 702 (1955).
- 9 Ian Nairn, 'Counter-Attack', *The Architectural Review*, 120, 719 (1956); Ivor de Wolfe, 'Italian Townscape', *The Architectural Review*, 131, 784 (1962); Ivor de Wolfe, 'Civilia: The end of the sub urban man', *The Architectural Review*, 149, 892 (1971); finally, Ivor de Wolfe, 'SLOAP - Sociable Housing', *The Architectural Review*, 154, 920 (1973).
- 9 The third editor from the period was James Maude Richards, the fourth position was variously occupied by, Osbert Lancaster, Ian McCallum and Sir Hugh Casson. See Erten, 'Shaping "The Second Half Century"', pp. 317-323.
- 10 He published 13 articles and 3 complete Special Editions under this name, later using "Ivor de Wolfe", see endnote 8 above.
- 11 These articles were published in the years from 1941 to 1956.
- 12 Nairn published approximately 150 articles on Townscape and related topics from 1953 to 1975. Browne published approximately 100 articles on Townscape and related topics from, 1952 to 1980.
- 13 A selection of these authors includes: William Carr, Eric de Maré, Donald Dewar Mills, Charles Forehoe, Andor Gomme, Andrew Hammer, Robert Moore, J.R. Nichols, Richard Reid, J.M. Richards, and Marcus Whiffen, with cameo appearances by Robert Venturi and Peter Reyner Banham.
- 14 Some recent studies on Pevsner which were consulted in the preparation of this paper, include; Peter Draper (ed.), *Reassessing Nikolaus Pevsner*, Hants: Ashgate, 2004; Stephen Games (ed.), *Pevsner on Art and Architecture: The Radio Talks*, London: Methuen, 2002.
- 15 I am referring to Erten, who tends to favour de Cronin Hastings' contribution over that of Pevsner. See, Erten 'Shaping "The Second Half Century"'.⁴⁶
- 16 Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Conclusions', in Nikolaus Pevsner (ed.), *The Picturesque Garden and its Influence Outside the British Isles*, Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Trustees for Harvard University, 1974, pp. 119-120.
- 17 See Hugh Casson in, 'Nikolaus Pevsner: 1902-83. A Symposium of Tributes. [J.M. Richards, Alec Clifton-Taylor, Philip Johnson, Hugh Casson, Jane Fawcett]', *The Architectural Review*, 174, 1040 (1983): 5; Brian Harison, 'Pevsner, Sir Nikolaus Bernhard Leon (1902-1983)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- 18 Hugh Casson tells us that Pevsner used several pseudonyms in the period, saying "its fun to try and find them now", in 'The Elusive H de C', *RIBA Journal*, 78, (February 1971): 59. I refer to one pseudonym only, which was revealed in, John Barr, 'Select Bibliography of

- the Publications of Nikolaus Pevsner', in John Summerson (ed.), *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1968, pp. 275-285.
- 19 Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Elusive JMR', *RIBA Journal*, 78, (May 1971): 181.
 - 20 Interestingly, both of Pevsner's 'Pioneers' had lived or were currently living in England. See, Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement: From William Morris to Walter Gropius*, London: Faber & Faber, 1936.
 - 21 For a discussion of these articles see my, 'Townscape in Context'.
 - 22 Games, *Pevsner on Art and Architecture*.
 - 23 Most of these articles were republished in, Nikolaus Pevsner, *Studies in Art, Architecture and Design: Volume One, from Mannerism to Romanticism*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1968. For the original publications, see endnote 35 below.
 - 24 On the subject of Pevsner's education in Germany and its influence on his later practice see, Macarthur, *Picturesque*, forthcoming. Ute Engel, 'The formation of Pevsner's Art History: Nikolaus Pevsner in Germany 1902-1935,' in Draper (ed.), *Reassessing Nikolaus Pevsner*, pp. 29-55. Erten, 'Shaping "The Second Half Century"', pp. 168-183; Pevsner, 'Judges VI, 34,' *The Architectural Review*, 106, 632 (1949): 77-79. For Pevsner's explanation of *Kunstgeographie* see his 'Das Englische in Der Englischen Kunst. Die Retrospektive Ausstellung Britischer Kunst in Der Londoner Akademie', *Deutsche Zukunft: Wochenzeitung für Politik Wirtschaft und Kultur*, 2 (1934): 15.
 - 25 See, 'Visual Planning...', Box 25, Pevsner Papers, Getty Research Library. Previously, the manuscript has been mentioned, however, it has never been dealt with thoroughly. The major reason for this has to be the manuscript's illegibility. Erten, in 'Shaping "The Second Half Century"', discusses the manuscript, but published only small sections of his transcription. Michela Rosso, in an essay very similar in its intent to the present study, totally misses the manuscript despite her extensive archival research at the Getty. See Michela Rosso, "The Rediscovery of the Picturesque" [sic] Nikolaus Pevsner and the Work of Architects and Planners during and after the Second World War" in Draper (ed.), *Reassessing Nikolaus Pevsner*, pp. 195-212.
 - 26 The 'Visual Planning' folder's cover in Box 25 also has two other titles written in pencil, "Visual Planning and the City of London, 1945", and "Reassessment 4. Three oxford Colleges, 1949 ?" which refer to articles with similar content published in journals, and further discussed below, see endnote 35.
 - 27 Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Lavedan Continued' [Book Review of "Histoire De L'urbanisme: Renaissance Et Temps Modernes" by Pierre Lavedan], *The Architectural Review*, 102, 609 (1947): 103. Later in his review, Pevsner suggests aspects of Lavedan's analysis are close to the AR's 'Exterior Furnishing' campaign.
 - 28 Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art*, London: Architectural Press, 1956, p. 199.
 - 29 Robin Middleton, 'Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, 1902-83 [Obituary]', *The Burlington Magazine*, 126, 973 (April 1984): 237.
 - 30 In this section the all quotations are from the foreword and first section [12 pages in total] of the 'Visual Planning' Manuscript from Box 25 of Pevsner's Papers at the Getty Research Library. To avoid confusion, I have not included page numbers as the sheets are often unnumbered or use several sets of numbering systems. All quotes are in the same order as written in the manuscript.
 - 31 Camillo Sitte, *Der Städtebau Nach Seinen Künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (reprint ed.), Braunschweig & Wiesbaden: Vieweg, 1983.
 - 32 Nikolaus Pevsner, 'A Pioneer of Town-Planning' [Book Review of "the Art of Building Cities" by Camillo Sitte], *The Architectural Review*, 100, 600 (1946): 186.
 - 33 Nikolaus Pevsner, 'History: Unwin Centenary', *The Architectural Review*, 134, 799 (1963): 207-208.
 - 34 The following is a chronology of articles directed related to the Visual Planning Manuscript: Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Heritage of Compromise: A note on Sir Joshua Reynolds who died one hundred and fifty years ago', *The Architectural Review*, 91, 542 (1942): 37-8; Peter F.R. Donner, 'The End of the Pattern Books', *The Architectural Review*, 93, 555 (1943): 75-9; Donner, 'Edensor or Brown Comes True', *The Architectural Review*, 95, 566 (1944): 39-43; Pevsner, 'Price on Picturesque Planning', *The Architectural Review*, 95, 566 (1944): 47-50; Pevsner, 'The Genesis of the Picturesque', *The Architectural Review*, 96, 575 (1944): 139-46; Special Edition of the AR, 'A Programme for the City of London', 97, 582 (June 1945); Pevsner, 'Frenchay Common or Workday Sharawaggi', *The Architectural Review*, 98, 583 (1945): 26-7; Pevsner, 'Visual Planning and the City of London' [Summary], *The Architect's Journal*, 102, 2655, (December 13th 1945): 440-441; Pevsner, 'Visual Planning and the City of London: A Paper Read before the A.A.', *AA Journal*, 56, 699, (December 1945-January 1946): 31-5; Pevsner, 'A Pioneer of Town-Planning' [Book Review of "The Art of Building Cities" by Camillo Sitte], *The Architectural Review*, 100, 600 (1946): 186; Pevsner, 'The Other Chambers', *The Architectural Review*, 101, 606 (1947): 195-8; Pevsner, 'The Picturesque in Architecture', *RIBA Journal*, 55 (1947): 55-61; Pevsner, 'Lavedan Continued' [Book Review of "Histoire De L'urbanisme: Renaissance Et Temps Modernes" by Pierre Lavedan], *The Architectural Review*, 102, 609 (1947): 103; Pevsner, 'Humphrey Repton: A Florilegium', *The Architectural Review*, 103, 614 (1948): 53-59; Pevsner, 'Reassessment 4: Three Oxford Colleges', *The Architectural Review*, 106, 632 (1949): 119-124; Pevsner, Book Review of "Amsterdams Bouwkuerst En Stadtschoon" by J.G. Wattjes and F.A. Warners, *The Architectural Review*, 106, 633 (1949): 196. This book review contains the interesting admission, "... certain streets in Amsterdam can give one an idea of what London might have been, if there had been no fire in 1666, and if this had not been followed by the immense prosperity of the eighteenth century." Pevsner concludes "It is a dazzling thought that a book of this kind might be produced on London. But which publishers would dare to do it?" Pevsner and S. Lang, 'Sir William Temple and Sharawaggi', *The Architectural Review*, 106, 636 (1949): 391-393. Finally, Pevsner, 'Richard Payne Knight', *The Art Bulletin*, (December 1949): 293-320.
 - 35 The Editor, 'Exterior Furnishing or Sharawaggi: The art of making urban landscape', *The Architectural Review*, 95, 565 (1944): 3-8. It is Erten who establishes that in this case 'The Editor' was Hubert de Cronin Hastings, see, 'Shaping "The Second Half Century"', p. 35.
 - 36 See Macarthur and Aitchison, 'Ivor de Wolfe's Picturesque'; Aitchison, 'Townscape in Context'.
 - 37 For this article and the others that follow, see endnote 35 above.
 - 38 Hugh Gordon-Peter, 'Plan for the St. Paul's Area: The Plan', *The Architectural Review*, 100, 599 (1946): 142-145.
 - 39 Pevsner, 'Frenchay Common', p. 26.
 - 40 This speech was reprinted in full in the *Architectural Association Journal* of December 1945 and in summary form in *The Architect's Journal* of December 1945, see endnote 35 above.
 - 41 Pevsner, 'Visual Planning and the City of London', p. 33.
 - 42 Nikolaus Pevsner, 'C20 Picturesque: An answer to Basil Taylor's broadcast', *The Architectural Review*, 115, 688 (1954): 227-229.
 - 43 Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art*, pp. 163-180.
 - 44 Erten, 'Shaping "The Second Half Century"', p. 35.
 - 45 Kate Orff, 'Landscape', in Rem Koolhaas, et al., *Great Leap Forward*, Cambridge: Taschen, 2001, p. 393.